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By HELEN HILL MILLER

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MARCH 2, 1959

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Washington Wire

Back to 1945

THE MACMILLAN TRIP to Moscow will presumably be followed by quick trips to Bonn and Paris—perhaps Washington—to report what he found. If there is a chance of agreement, a foreign ministers' conference will follow. Finally there could be a summit conference. The summit conference would write the peace treaty for Germany which was supposed to be done in 1945—14 years ago—and has been shelved since. It is harder to end wars than to fight them.

We deliberately broke off negotiations in 1945-1946 because we decided Moscow wouldn't talk seriously while it still thought it could convert Europe to Communism. Since then Moscow's political momentum has slowed down—in Europe anyway. Red evangelism has gone sour. But now we no longer have the A-bomb monopoly; in some rocket fields Moscow may be stronger than we. Now it is a grim confrontation of raw power —deadly to either side. Is Moscow more reasonable now than in 1945?

Meanwhile Washington has the strange, dream-like quality that it has shown for six years. It looks at life through a mirror. America fled reality in 1952 and still—at heart—counts on the Eisenhower Image to solve its problems. The nation is immersed in a bubble-bath of optimism. Disagreeable and gritty decisions like desegregation, education, finance and defense? The President would solve them and yet somehow stay above the battle. What a comfort not to have a politician at the head of things! What was a heart attack, a stroke, an ileitis operation—they endeared him all the more to the voters. The Sputnik? — a bauble! Sherman Adams? — the decision was up to him whether to stay or go. Today in the trance-like atmosphere of Washington the public really cannot tell where the nation stands on missiles. The President is complacent; that should be enough.

And now Dulles. . . . Just as the nation awoke to discover that Chiang kai-Shek had been allowed to put his military strength into the one island of Quemoy, threatening war, so the nation now discovers that the President has put foreign policy decision into the hands of one indispensable old man. Dulles holds all the threads of the Berlin crisis; he has delegated no authority. A current of emotion suddenly flows around him. People sympathetically discover that policies that were bad for Dulles—well, are good for Dulles—ill.

The President is comforting. Dulles may run affairs from the hospital. Or there may be a sort of 3-man Secretary of State, Dulles handling Germany, Dillon economic problems, Christian Herter everything else. Things will be fine. And the decision as to whether Dulles stays or goes will be left strictly to Dulles.

Yahoos in the ABA

EARL WARREN has quietly resigned from the American Bar Association. He has given no reason, but it is not hard to find. The ABA is one of the most respectable and conservative organizations in the country. As in all such groups control seems to drift into the hands of the radical right: note the US Chamber of Commerce, the NAM, the DAR. Now the governors of the ABA have given support to resolutions of a special committee which urges Congress to reverse many of the Supreme Court's decisions requiring fair trial for alleged Reds. The ABA managers have thrown their support to the Yahoos.

The ABA committee wants to apply loyalty oaths to all government workers —janitors as well as scientists. It wants every state to have authority to write and enforce its own loyalty laws, taking jurisdiction away from the federal government and establishing 49 different jurisdictions. It would strip the Court of many powers. The committee, headed by one Peter Brown, former member of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board, praises the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee — the outfit that once investigated Bishop Bromley Oxnam—and its Senate counterpart, whose star-spangled expert in McCarthy's heydey, J. B. Matthews, began a paid article: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

The Supreme Court is not directly mentioned in this attack but the target is self-evident. It is discouraging to think that organized lawyers will go along with this sort of thing. But the ABA's House of Delegates is expected to approve the resolutions.

$4 Security

IN THIS COLUMN, January 19, we mentioned the authorization of the big new Canadian hospital insurance program that has gone practically unnoticed in the US press. It is gratifying to note that the *New York Times*, February 16, has now made editorial mention of the affair. Where the *Times*' editorial page got wind of it we don't know; not apparently from any *Times* news column. For about $4 a month the head of a Canadian family in any one of seven provinces will be able to insure his family against all hospital expenses, stay unlimited. What other US papers have mentioned it?

Notes

EISENHOWER is trying to balance the budget *down*; Nelson Rockefeller, in New York, with new taxes, is trying to balance the budget *up*—it is the difference between contraction and expansion. . . . Clare Booth Luce may make a good ambassador to Brazil, and readers of the article on *Time* in this magazine last week will understand how valuable she is to the Administration. . . . Organized labor is storing up trouble for itself in not bouncing recalcitrant Carpenters' Union head, Maurice Hutcheson, out of the AFL-CIO. Righteous excommunication of Teamster Hoffa, however, seemed to accomplish little—the public needs more protection against corrupt unions than the loosely knit Federation offers. . . . Mikoyan reportedly reproached Soviet Embassy officials here for making "party-line" reports on the US; promised to protect them in more realistic reporting.

T.R.B.

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To Yield or To Stand

"GOVERNMENTS which have clung to rigid formulas too long and then rediscover the need for flexibility when faced with acute threats may easily find themselves on a slippery slope." These words from our editorial of February 16, qualifying our pleasure at evidence of a new diplomatic flexibility in Washington, had not reached readers when Senator Mansfield provided a distressing illustration of how "flexibility" can be interpreted. His Senate speech, commendable certainly for its candor and willingness to reconsider orthodox assumptions, amounts nevertheless to a thinly disguised surrender of the Western position in Berlin, and ultimately in Germany. That was not, of course, the Senator's intention; and we ourselves have, by our quite different proposals, laid ourselves open to similar charges of sponsoring "potentially disastrous retreat" from good friends, as Professor Eugene Rostow's letter in this issue shows.

Dean Rostow's communication appears on page 23.

Clearly, there has been too little precise definition of what is meant by "flexibility" and "firmness."

Our starting point has been that *no* diplomacy is worth a bean if it is unsupported by the power to effect the aims of diplomacy. And the terrifying paradox of this present period is that the Russians exhibit growing confidence and strength, and our country is persuaded that budget-balancing and business-as-usual will see us through. This complacency is reflected not only in our *announced* decision not to match the Russians missile for missile, but in the whole conduct of our public affairs. This being the case, we are in increasing danger of caving in simply because we *and our allies* lack confidence in our ability to do otherwise.

What, then, can the West hope to accomplish through top-level negotiations this year with the Russians? The agenda is Europe, and we are not entirely without hope that some agreement, more durable and satisfactory than present arrangements, might be worked out. The reason for this extremely guarded optimism is that Europe is the part of the world where the Soviets are still politically on the defensive, because they are holding down the unwilling peoples on whom they forced Communist regimes after World War II. It follows that the primary objective in Europe of our government should be to procure a Russian military withdrawal to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, in conditions and under guarantees which preclude Russia's return. Such a withdrawal would result, sooner or later, in the disappearance of those imposed regimes, and this vital political gain would be worth considerable military counter-concessions—so long as the over-all military balance between East and West was maintained.

A military disengagement, far from being an abandonment of the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, etc., is to us a method of "liberation by negotiation"—

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the only method known to us. It is not a quick and cheap way out of the Berlin crisis; in fact, we have little hope that Mr. Khrushchev would accept such a proposal at the present time. But only such a proposal, by reviving the hopes of the people concerned, contains a dynamic potential which could compel eventual agreement if the West persists. There is absolutely no way of helping these peoples while Russian armies remain on their soil; no way to make the Russian armies retreat to their frontier without some equivalent military withdrawal on our side; and no way to make them renounce the Warsaw Pact (under which they could return at any time to save their puppets) and respect the neutrality of these nations without the West's renouncing military alliance with a reunited Germany and without assurances that the West would respect Germany's neutrality.

☆

We agree with Dean Rostow that the German problem cannot be solved in isolation. But it is the key to all else in Europe. We therefore proposed four-power discussion of a German peace treaty as the first step. To refuse serious discussion of a German peace treaty because the Western democracies want *in all circumstances* to preserve the West German military alliance would put us in an untenable position: to give fixed military concepts absolute priority over political considerations is the very essence of the recent *immobilisme* of Western policy. But if a peace treaty requires a withdrawal of both sides from a guaranteed, militarily neutral Germany, it automatically ends the present basis for the stationing of Russian troops in Poland, and the West would be perfectly entitled to call for the general withdrawal of Russian troops as part of a European security system.

Dean Rostow raises the spectre of the "dismantling of NATO" in return for mere Soviet renunciation of Eastern Germany. In fact, the substance of NATO does not lie in the six American divisions in Western Germany, nor even in the joint command structure in Paris, but in the US guarantee of Western Europe as embodied in the Strategic Air Command; and that guarantee—visibly embodied in American bases in Britain— would remain as an indispensable part even of the most far-reaching scheme for disengagement. Naturally, if the Soviets maintained the Warsaw Pact and thus the right to station troops in Eastern Europe, the formal organization of NATO in Western Europe would be maintained as well. In fact, it is very doubtful if the Russians would ever leave East Germany unless they were prepared to leave the other pact countries too; there is certainly no reason to take a "dynamic" view of disengagement by the West and a "static" view of Soviet withdrawals.

But why, it is asked, should the Russians keep to such an agreement? Our answer is the old one given by Walter Lippmann: Experience shows that the Russians have kept "self-enforcing" agreements, *i.e.* agreements about military frontiers whose violation would risk war; history shows likewise that the Soviet Union has never kept agreements about representative government or free elections because the words do not mean to them what they mean to Western democracies, and the effective meaning is decided by who wields power on the spot. Therefore we propose negotiations on guaranteed withdrawals behind a new line; we do not propose either to insist on free elections first, or to accept Russian demands for German "confederation" first.

That brings us to our reservations about the Mansfield proposals. Their fundamental error seems to us to be the suggestion that the elected West German government discuss Germany's future with the imposed Ulbricht regime *while the Russians are there and before any firm assurance that they will leave.* So long as Russian forces (22 divisions) remain in Eastern Germany, Ulbricht can sabotage any agreement on freeing his people. While he is safely in power, any formal discussions with him on the future of Germany will tend to consolidate, not weaken, the Pankow regime. Conversely, once the Russians have bound themselves to get out for good, they will know that the Ulbricht regime cannot be maintained; *then* the natural weight of Western Germany and the will of the German people will be decisive for the outcome of any direct talks. But if that is to happen, the prospect of total disappearance of the Russians from the country is indispensable; "thinning out" of forces or evacuation of a border zone, whatever its other merits, makes no political difference.

We believe the Senator is mistaken also in suggesting a special United Nations solution for Berlin. Such a proposal amounts to accepting the Soviet thesis that the dangerous anomaly to be remedied is the situation of Berlin and not the partition of Germany and of Europe —just as the proposal for talks between West and East Germans on unification *before* an agreement of the four powers on withdrawal amounts to accepting—in fact, if not in form—the Soviet thesis that Ulbricht's regime has come to stay.

☆

Lastly, Mr. Mansfield errs on a technical point when he suggests that, in case negotiations fail, Allied troops in West Berlin should be replaced by Germans "under NATO guarantee." In international law, Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic nor an independent member of NATO; it is protected by the NATO treaty only because of the presence of allied forces there. In fact, because of its island position in Soviet-occupied territory, there are compelling reasons why Berlin should be the last, not the first, place from which Allied forces could be withdrawn.

Yet there is an inner logic in what we regard as the

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Senator's errors. They all flow from the assumption that the US cannot afford in any circumstances to give up its military position in Western Germany—the assumption underlying the past policy of the Eisenhower and Truman Administrations. If that is so, if our forces in Western Germany are indispensable for defense of the West, then indeed there is no room for diplomatic bargaining over the future of Eastern Europe. It follows that we had better cut the cackle and accept the *status quo*—Kadar, Ulbricht and all. It also follows that Berlin is not an outpost for helping the captive nations regain their sovereignty and a greater measure of freedom but a military liability which we should get rid of with as much dignity as possible—*e.g.* by palming it off to the United Nations. The inner logic of rigidly clinging to static military lines leads to the surrender of the West's political chances and moral obligations. Our own ideas are based on the opposite assumption: that military assets are means to be used in achieving the West's political purposes, and that without war.

A Way to Aid India

A BI-PARTISAN resolution co-sponsored by Sens. John Kennedy and John Sherman Cooper and placed before the House by Democrat Chester Bowles and Republican Chester Morrow would instruct the Secretary of State to invite Canadian, West German, British and Japanese participation in a Western consortium — under World Bank auspices — to see through the remainder of India's Second Five-Year Plan as well as the Third Plan beginning in 1961. Unlike the Kennedy-Cooper resolution approved last year by the Senate (and dropped in the waste basket by a Senate-House conference committee), which was restricted to a general expression of US support for Indian development, the new resolution carries a specific directive and enjoins the Secretary to report back to Congress "after consultation with interested governments."

One of the principal arguments against last year's resolution was that no one foreign nation should be singled out by Congress for special consideration—and that such preferential treatment of India could injure our country's standing with Pakistan. Yet an adequate India program need not in the long run prejudice relations with Pakistan or deter our government from assisting that country to develop its economy. An expanded Development Loan Fund, which Senator Kennedy urged in introducing his resolution, could contribute appreciably to meeting the capital needs of both countries: to forego a response to either in these months of rapid political deterioration in South Asia might well mean that, by the time Congress has collected its legislative wits, there will be few if any stable non-Communist governments left to aid.

Kennedy's Reform

IT MUST BE SAID—regretfully and with due respect—that the proposals announced last week by Sen. John F. Kennedy for revision of the immigration and naturalization law are farcical. Is it not farcical, for example, to amend such a statute by tinkering with its provisions about aliens with symptoms of tuberculosis?

The present law bears the names of the late Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada and of Rep. Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, and it is the fullest flower of the phobias for which both are justly famous. The McCarran-Walter Act has, of course, its historic roots, and it may be argued that it would have been merely a quixotic gesture for Senator Kennedy to propose abolition of so well-established, if objectionable, a feature of it as the quota system for restricting immigration on the basis of the national origins of our population. But that argument, it seems to us, does not relieve a Senator interested in sensible reform from the obligation to address himself to the gravest inequities in present legislation.

The law as it stands treats entering aliens (and in many respects resident aliens, and in some respects petitioners for naturalization) as presumptive criminals and subverters of our institutions. It goes as far as it constitutionally can—which is pretty far, farther perhaps than the courts need have allowed—in permitting, indeed in inviting, the exercise against aliens of a degree of administrative caprice unheard of in this country in any other context.

Mr. Kennedy would allow immigration of relatives of citizens and resident aliens—*and only such immigration*. It is conceivable that there would be an increase in total numbers of entrants under this proposal, and that on the whole it would work out more equitably in individual cases. But the root inequity remains untouched. And if, as practitioners of the art of the possible, politicians regard it as untouchable, then the test of the Kennedy proposal is in what he would do to ameliorate the myriad subsidiary barbarities of which the McCarran-Walter Act is redolent. The answer is that the rest of the Senator's amendments are trivial beyond description.

De Gaulle Delays

THE RESURGENCE of tension between France and Tunisia has exposed the Achilles heel of General de Gaulle's Algerian policy. It has been de Gaulle's hope that Algeria could be developed economically, even in the absence of any defined political goal and despite the continuance of Franco's war against the rebel nationalists. And it had been assumed that such a program could be pursued without exacerbating France's relations with Algeria's Moslem neighbors, Tunisia and Morocco. The events of the last months have called the second of these

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into open question, and may eventually challenge the first.

The continuance of the Algerian war has the double effect of subjecting President Bourguiba of Tunisia to the pressure of the Holy War preachers of Cairo and to the FLN, and of maintaining the French Army in Algeria in a permanent state of frustration *vis-à-vis* the "privileged sanctuary" of Tunisia. In an effort to deflate these pressures, Bourguiba has formally suggested that he be invited to Paris by de Gaulle. But unfortunately, by the time this visit is arranged—if it ever is—it will be far harder to reach a meeting of minds than would have been the case last autumn—immediately after the September referendum in France. For in the meantime, 70 Algerian Nationalists have been elected to the French Assembly, and there is a parliamentary majority sentimentally, if not explicitly, committed to the doctrine of "integration," and thus to the continuation of the "pacification" of Algeria. Any concessions that de Gaulle might now be tempted to make can be instantly denounced by superpatriots as being "against the demonstrated will of the French people."

This is the new line of slander—it hardly merits being called an argument—which the European extremists in Algeria are advancing against de Gaulle. Yesterday it was a handful of fanatics in Algiers who greeted the French Premier, Michel Debré, with cries of *"De Gaulle, Assassin!"* Tomorrow it could well be the vast majority of the European community—four-fifths of whom were Pétainist in feeling through most of World War II—who will be denouncing de Gaulle as "a traitor to France." Last October, de Gaulle could probably have hammered through a long-term agreement defining the political future of Algeria at a top-level conference attended by Bourguiba of Tunisia and the Sultan of Morocco, and have had enough prestige to impose it on the recalcitrants of an army, which at heart would settle for a limited victory if it could save its honor in the process. Today, it is another story.

Should Dulles Resign?

PERHAPS THERE is no indispensable man, but a Secretary of State is indispensable. That might not have been as apparent in the Administrations of the early Wilson, or of Roosevelt or Truman, but the parallel is illusory. The present Chief Executive is not only physically limited in what he can do, he is disposed by temperament and training to rely heavily on his staff, and on no one more than his Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles is presently undergoing the most debilitating medical treatment. His agony must be great, but is it made more bearable by the knowledge that he is at this moment personally responsible to the President for the conduct of our foreign affairs? Is it an affront to a patriotic, stricken man to say frankly that he will not for some time, if ever, be capable of carrying out his duties?

Sen. Homer Capehart (R, Ind.) says that it is "very cruel and unwarranted" to suggest that Mr. Dulles resign. It is both cruel and unwarranted—and we have in mind both the patient and the nation—to prolong the fiction that Mr. Dulles is the Secretary of State.

Murrow On Leave

IN THE 25 years Edward R. Murrow has been with the network, CBS has undergone all the changes "bigness" brings. "The administration of a television network today," *The New York Times* TV critic Jack Gould explained in commenting on Murrow's decision to take a year off from broadcasting,

> necessarily involves a great deal of rule by Committee, if only because a slightest alteration in a schedule can have a bewildering number of ramifications affecting many departments. What this has meant is that for those executives sympathetic to the news side of broadcasting, there may be others who apply a different set of perspectives.

News policy at CBS is made by a 28-man committee—which is a bore and more to an individualist like Ed Murrow. The Committee works in mysterious and powerful ways, as is illustrated by the quiet disappearance without any explanation of the sterling "See It Now" series. In simpler days, and before CBS Board Chairman William Paley had begun to lose interest in the noncommercial parts of broadcasting, Murrow was able to hurdle minor bureaucratic blocks. Now things are different. CBS has just increased its dividend. There is a new President of the CBS network (formerly Vice President of Creative Services)—Mr. Louis Cowan, who came to the top via his connection with "The $64,000 Question," "Stop the Music," the "Edgar A. Guest Show," and other such. On the day Murrow announced his departure, Mr. Cowan told the Association of School Administrators that:

> Whether for selfish reasons or not, we strive to get the public to look at television—even if only by amusing them or by indulging their curiosity. If we develop an audience, we can then bring to them on occasion great works of drama, introduce them to a world they never knew. But we have to pace ourselves. We have to get their interest first.

To which nonsense, columnist John Crosby replied:

> Now if that isn't the last word in condescension! As if we were a bunch of children who had to have our attention diverted by bright, shiny beads while they sneak in a nugget of culture now and then. It is this sort of thinking which is doing much to wreck television—this idea that anything good must be administered like castor oil and, conversely, that anything lousy must automatically be popular.

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The Shouting Match Between Egypt and Iraq

ANYONE who has ever heard two Arabs arguing over a taxi-fare knows how suddenly the din can subside; one makes the gesture of brushing his hands clean, the other pays, and both sit down to a peaceful coffee. The main topic of discussion all over the Arab world just now is whether the shouting match between Egypt and Iraq is just such an everyday fight, or is the start of a blood-feud.

The barometer by which to measure the chances is the life of Iraq's new cabinet. On February 3, six Ministers known to be moderates resigned from Brigadier Qassem's team that made the revolution. Their immediate motive was to protest at the death sentence passed on the Number 2 man of that team, Col. Aref.

The net effect of the resignations was to reduce the basis of Qassem's cabinet support from four parties to two—from a block which included the right-wing Istiqlal (Independence) Party and the socialist Ba'ath (Renaissance) Party to a narrow group consisting of army officers, left-wing National Democrats and Communists. Here was another step, said the pessimists, toward the triumph of Communist blackmail; this view was strengthened because at the same moment as the resignations Iraq signed a new technical aid agreement with Moscow.

When the Aref death sentence was passed, the climate seemed to be worsening so rapidly that the Egyptian leaders decided to interfere. For a month after his trial started in December they had held their tongues. President Nasser had confined himself to a speech on the anniversary of the bombing of Port Said, when he attacked the *Syrian* Communists as bad Arab nationalists; one of his motives undoubtedly was to put heart into the anti-Communists in Iraq, among whom he counts Qassem. But when Qassem's Public Prosecutor (who models himself on Vyshinsky of the "shoot the mad dogs" era) exceeded himself in his handling of the Aref case, Egypt spoke up; radio attacks started on the court as a circus and the judge as a baboon. The Iraqis replied in kind. They too then began broadcasting and televising extracts of the trial for their own home public, pleasing the Communists but sickening many other Qassem supporters. The technique they used seemed to substantiate the fear that Qassem was getting into the hands of four red or near-red soldiers. These are, or were, the head of his personal bodyguard, his press and radio chiefs, and his now notorious judge—Colonel Fadhl Mahdawi—a combination which can cope with the whole process of extinction, from arrest to interpretation to sentencing.

But a close look at the new Ministers shows that Qassem has not yet capitulated to Communist pressure. Four of his new Ministers are army colleagues of unknown political color, but the four civilians are known quantities. Hashim Jawad, the new Foreign Minister, is the man of independent mind who, when serving the pre-revolution government as UN delegate, voted with Greece, not Turkey, over Cyprus and was recalled. Sheikh Hassan Talabani, at Communications, is a member of the Kurdish aristocracy and a most experienced public servant and administrator. But perhaps the most notable newcomer is Hussein Jamil, who takes over propaganda. He has been secretary of the left-wing National Democrats for many years, but on so loose a rein that he once, against his party's wishes, decided to serve his country as Minister of Justice in a cabinet of the right-wing and since executed Nuri-as-Said. Without a doubt, men of this type have come forward in order to keep the revolution out of the hands of Soviet stooges. Jamil's first acts were to ban the worst of the Communist slander sheets and to call off the abuse of Egypt. But Iraqi Communism has a strong footing; some reports say the banned paper went on appearing. A struggle is unavoidable and the outcome probably depends upon whether the army splits or stands firm behind Qassem on the Communist issue.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN if the Mahdawi types get the upper hand and the contest with Egypt continues? The battle is one in which both sides are claiming to be the champions of Arab unity, and in it, the Communists hold one good card: the kind of unity they are preaching is a loose federation of independent states. By contrast Egypt, tied by force of circumstances to complete union with Syria, stands (looking almost old-fashioned) for a kind of union few Arabs now really fancy. Is Nasser sufficiently agile to get around this snag? And will Russia have the sense to keep its mouth shut, or will it take sides? Mr. Khrushchev took sides when, unused to the language of Nasser's Port Said speech, he answered back from the Praesidium of the 21st Communist Party Congress in Moscow that "it is wrong to accuse Communists of helping to undermine and divide the nationalist efforts in the struggle against imperialism." "None of his business," was the comment in Cairo and Baghdad next day. For foreign strictures, even when sweetened with this glutinous anti-imperialist coating, do not go down with Arabs. Once foreigners start interfering, they see nothing to choose between British colonialists, Mr. Dulles and Comrade Khrushchev.

ELIZABETH MONROE

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The Superficial Aspect

All Play, No Work?

THE EXASPERATED attorney for the Warren County, Virginia, School Board relieved his mind to Baltimore newspaper reporters the other day, after Federal Circuit Judge Sobeloff had denied a further stay of execution of the school integration order; and the lawyer's choice of language perhaps illuminated the whole school situation, not only in Virginia, but elsewhere.

Ever since the days of Andrew Jackson the folklore of American jurisprudence has included the maxim that "it is the right of every defeated litigant to stand in the middle of the big road and cuss the court." But this defeated litigant didn't cuss the court. He cussed the case. He applied no perjorative term to Judge Sobeloff. But of the case, he said that the point is not the integration of either schools or races. "It's the bastardization of races which we feel will result from this integration." Since "race" is an intellectual concept and asexual, it is clear that counsel employed the term "bastardize" in its secondary sense, given by Webster as "to debase." He was arguing that for the two races to meet in the classroom would debase both.

Now for centuries in the South the races have met and mingled in the field, in the kitchen, at the cotton gin, and—so revenue officers say—at the moonshine still without any complaint that debasement results from the contact. Why so? The answer is that these are on-the-job contacts, and for a white man to chop cotton, or for a white woman to wash dishes alongside a Negro has never been regarded as debasing to either. It is only social contact that is stigmatized in the South.

And there, perhaps, we are getting at one of the deeper roots of this problem. If the school were regarded strictly as a workshop, where the children go to labor, not to play, the presence of a Negro there might be accepted as it is at a sawmill, or at a cookstove. But the modern school is not regarded as strictly, or even primarily, a workshop. It is primarily the place where the boys try out for the basketball team, and the girls arrange the class dances. It is a social center.

Some charge, or credit, this transformation to the influence of John Dewey, and some to that of the schoolmarm. Probably it is due to both. Certain it is that the old-fashioned dominie was not considered qualified for the job unless he was physically able to whip the biggest boy in school; and there is no doubt that he held many of the characteristic attitudes of the straw-boss. But the schoolmarm is not physically equipped to act as a chain-gang boss, so her attitude is more like that of a hostess than like that of a foreman, and the school becomes more social than professional.

This is held to be an advance by all but a small number of old Hardshells who were convinced by their own experience that getting an education is work, and devilishly hard work. So when they find a small boy, normal otherwise, who actually likes going to school, they develop a sour suspicion that the school is a fraud and that the teacher should be behind a plow or working as a waitress in a hash-house.

Without doubt, these reactionaries have been cheered and helped by recent events; for they attribute to education as a grace rather than as a discipline the production alike of Orville Faubus in the South and of the juvenile delinquent in the North.

For the veering of the school in the direction of the parlor and away from the penitentiary is not exclusively a Southern phenomenon. It is as prevalent in Maine and Oregon as it is in Mississippi. The schoolmarm is ubiquitous. John Dewey was born in Vermont, not Alabama, and he operated in Minnesota, Illinois and New York, not in the Deep, or Low-Down South; so have his overzealous disciples who have deprecated the value of labor in education as Dewey himself never did.

THE HARDSHELLS are persuaded that the ability to think that is produced by playing is the frivolous kind of thinking that leads alumni to shell out millions for Alma Mater's football team against, at most, hundreds for her faculties of philosophy, science and art. If the school is a place to learn to play around gracefully, segregation is logical, for one does not play around with the socially undesirable. But if it is a place to work, then segregation is as illogical there as it is in a cotton field.

The Hardshells also observe that New York City has been driven to establish segregated schools, not indeed for Negroes, but for pupils with a marked tendency to murder each other or the teacher. This they do not regard as an unqualified endorsement of the American educational system. No doubt it is a better excuse for segregation than the color of a pupil's skin, but it is a long way from proof that we lead the world in the science of child training. The Hardshell, therefore, becomes one of the more-demandful—the abolition of segregation in Arkansas is a Constitutional requirement, but it only exposes the moral requirement of abolition of the need of segregation, even in New York; and that treads on many toes not attached to Southern feet.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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Farming Isn't What It Was

Before adopting new legislation, the Congress should study what farming has become since the days when the old oaken bucket hung in the well.

by HELEN HILL MILLER

SECRETARY BENSON last week again told a Senate Committee what he thought about the farm problem and was promptly butted about with vigorous bipartisanship. The Congress has begun its annual debate on how much and what the federal government should do for agriculture. It has been assumed by the more sophisticated in Congress that arguments that make economic sense may not make political sense: any farm program that is adopted no doubt must reconcile the politically feasible and the economically reasonable. But how much of this old debate is being centered on realities? One thing is sure: no federal program can make any kind of sense if it is not constructed on an understanding of what American agriculture has become and where it is going. Farming is not what it used to be; the changes have been and will be more radical than most citizens—and Congressmen—have yet to appreciate. The reality in recent years is that farmers have become America's most rapidly shrinking minority, farm production has become a business and the rural life is increasingly available to people who are not engaged in agriculture. The mystique of the old oaken bucket no longer holds water.

Between 1950 and 1958, farm population fell off by nearly 17 percent. Forty-five states—all except the three on the Pacific coast—lost farm population, and in 10 states, the decrease was over 30 percent. About 1.4 million people are giving up farming each year, and at the same time more than half a million people have moved from non-farm to farm residences. American society is thus being homogenized: more and more people on farms are doing work off the farm, and more and more people from cities are living in outlying areas.

Actually, it may be a mistake to count only the persons on farms as workers in agriculture. For today, the CIO trade unionist who assembles tractors in a farm machinery factory is doing the equivalent of the job that the horse breeder did a generation ago; oil refinery workers have replaced the sowers of 83 million acres of feed and pasture that formerly kept farm draft animals fueled; more workers are sacking fertilizer as fewer wield pitchforks. And the scientist in his laboratory, the farm management expert in his office are equally indispensable parts of commercial agricultural production. Indeed so great is the variation among the 4.8 million farms now under cultivation that to lump them all under the word "agriculture" is to put a strange collection of eggs into a single basket.

From one point of view, today's farming is big business. Considered strictly as the means by which food and fibre are brought onto the market, only a small percent of America's farms have any relevance. Almost 80 percent of the farm products marketed are raised on the top 27 percent of the farms—those with sales of more than $5,000. Nearly one-third of all marketings come from the 134,000 farms that dispose of produce valued at $25,000 or over: on these farms, sales vary from an average of $50,000 on poultry farms through $70,000 on cotton farms and $66,000 on fruit and nut farms to the vegetable farms which average $101,000 nationally, but run to double that amount in specialized areas like New Jersey and California.

The character of today's commercial production is illustrated in the February issue of *Successful Farming*. Under the title "Materials Handling Systems," a layout of augurs is described which in 12 minutes draws out of storage and delivers a silage-corn-concentrate mixture adequate to feed 170 head of cattle, and of which the owner says: "The greatest advantage from a management view is the automatic premixing of our ration."

The acreage of these top farms is being consistently expanded in order to carry the costs of their mechanized overhead. As evidence, in the five years 1950-54, the average size of commercial farms went up from 300 to 360 acres; by the latter year, farms of more than 260 acres numbered some 300,000. The enlarged acreages have been made doubly productive by the application of fertilizer: purchases which totalled $306 million in 1940 had reached $1,277 million by 1957, and the increased use of sprinkler and irrigation systems in non-arid parts

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of the country are making possible ever heavier applications.

With the expansion of the major commercial farms there have arisen new financial structures. On the 134,000 Class I farms, inventory per farm in land, livestock, machinery and equipment runs from $100,000 to $200,000 on most types except poultry farms, where the average is around $44,000; for the vegetable farms, the average is $219,000. On some of the biggest of these farms, particularly where a great deal of hand labor is necessary, corporate structures on the industrial model have produced the "factories-in-the-fields" of which much has been written. Predominantly, however, even on the big farms, family control has been maintained while new business arrangements have been adopted.

For instance, in the February issue of *The Progressive Farmer*, a banker describes the advantages when

> several small farmers band together and form a corporation. They retain their individual investment by means of holding shares of stock. Now that social security benefits have been extended to farmers, many over 65 would like to retire. But they would like to pass on their farms to heirs without splitting it up. A corporate arrangement would be helpful in this type of family estate planning. Shares could be distributed to members of a farmer's family without chopping up the farm into small, uneconomic pieces. Such an arrangement might also help solve death tax problems. It also offers an opportunity to transfer operation of the farm to an able person who has no money.
>
> There are certain tax advantages in a corporate arrangement, particularly when large year-to-year variations occur in income. As an officer of the corporation a farmer could draw a salary and let the corporation's losses for one year offset profits of another.

Memberships in trade associations, from black angus to white turkeys, and contacts with state agricultural college research and the extension service provide centralized access to the latest know-how. Specific applications of new technology can now be quickened through contracts with farm management consulting firms that advise on everything from increasing dairy herds to improving systems of record keeping.

Vertical integration—tying in producers to suppliers, shippers and processors as sources of financing, marketing or both—is likewise increasing. The decline in per capita consumption of wheat by humans has given millers incentive to push sales as feed; turkey, broiler and egg production are more and more being carried by feed companies, with subcontracts by large operators through arrangements under which smaller farmers become caretakers of other people's poultry. Similar arrangements are frequent in specialty crops such as fruit and vegetables that go with meat and fowl in the diet of today's high-income consumers. Around Salinas, where a good part of California's $85 million lettuce crop is grown, farmers are often at one and the same time the landlords and the hired hands of the shippers. Since lettuce is a crop in which a killing may be made one year by the grower, and the next year by the frost, farmers hedge their bets by contracts under which they plant agreed quantities of lettuce at an agreed pre-season flat rate price, with the shippers balancing out the differences in the actual take on the market from season to season.

The size of the over-all farm finance job, of today's capital requirements for commercial agriculture, is indicated by the figure for the assets of all farmers as of January 1, 1958—$186 billion. In 1940, the average value per farm of assets used in production was $6,094, with real estate accounting for $4,394 of that amount; in 1958, the total was $29,600, of which $21,326 was in real estate. Farm debt, over the same period, rose from $9.6 billion to $19 billion.

Recent figures from the Farmers Home Administration, successor to the Farm Security Administration with its tenant farmers program of 20 years ago, show the same trend. In the late 1930's, a $3,000 loan would cover the purchase of as much land as a man and a pair of mules could manage; the Agency's real estate loans for 1958, many of which were made to enable an operator to enlarge and improve holdings that he already had rather than to buy a whole farm, averaged $15,000—up from $14,400 the year before, up from $8,000-$10,000 in the early '50's. The loans to provide initial equipment and supplies follow a parallel upward line. A tractor and what follows after it costs $3,000-$4,000, and it runs on a diesel fuel-gas-oil bill payable in dollars as are the bills for fertilizer, chemicals, purchased feed, and so on. Tax bills reflect rising values. A starter's loan for these expenses now averages around $5,400—up from $4,800 a year ago, up from $3,500 in the early '50's.

THE modern, high-cost, business type family is also the kind of farming that delivers the goods in 1959. It is also the kind of farming that profits most from the government's agricultural programs, whether through rapid application of government research on plants, animals, and practices, or through receipts of government payments. Ninety percent of present out-payments under the government's price support program for wheat go to the operators of the top half of the wheat farms, and 75 percent of cotton payments go to the big producers in the top quarter of the cotton farms. Government price-support programs are available to all complying producers; but the producer who has little to sell has proportionately little to gain from a program which is geared to the price mechanism.

Yet even this type of agriculture—what Professor John Black of Harvard calls "agro-business"—does not yield income comparable to income provided from other major occupations in the United States. The per capita net income of the people who live on the 2.2 million

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most productive farms—*the top half of American agriculture*—averaged about $5,400 in 1956; that was about $1,500 less than the average for all other Americans.

The other half of American agriculture is much further below the national income average. The average net income per capita of the entire farm population from agricultural sources (and this figure includes a money value for the produce raised on the farm that is consumed at home) was $658 in 1957. There are 1.2 million farms where farming is the operator's main jobs but where gross sales total less than $2,500 a year; nearly half a million of them yield a gross of under $1,200. These farms add up to 40 percent of the farms that are classified as "commercial," but they produce only seven percent of the commodities sold in the US. For the most part, they are located in areas too rugged, on soils too poor, in patches too little, to take advantage of modern methods. Whether as producers or as consumers, the families living on them are largely outside the market places of American life. These are the farms which account for most of the recent large exodus from agriculture; their number declined by 400,000 in the years 1950-54.

But as the good-sized farms have been getting fewer but larger and small farms have been disappearing, a third type of farm has been coming to the fore—the farm that is an adjunct to industrial or urban life. The nearly 1.5 million farms classified either as part-time farms (where the operator does at least 100 days of work a year off the farm) or as residential (where sales amount to less than $250 a year) are two types of this new development.

Those who have been attacking what they consider the "privileged" status of the American farmer need to be reminded that the average income per person from all sources of all persons living on farms in the United States was $967 in 1957. Of this amount, $309 or almost a third represented income from non-farm employment. This non-farm income figure increases annually—in 1950, it was only $212 in an average income of $838. The kinds of outside employment vary widely. Particularly in the South, some of it reflects work made available by the installation of new industry. Sixty percent of the industrial development in the region since World War II has been located in formerly rural areas. Some of it represents jobs in the service trades. Over a generation, the percentage of farms equipped with electricity has grown from 11 to 95, and all-weather roads, built on a farm-to-market formula, have proved to be two-way streets; as a result, more manpower is needed for sales and distribution. In many sections, particularly near mountains, rivers, and coasts, recreational developments provide employment that supplements or subplants marginal farming. And with the expansion of the radius of metropolitan commuting, living in the country and working in the city is becoming a more familiar pattern. Another new pattern that is becoming familiar as a result of the rapid rise in the population beyond the age of 65 is farming by the retired. On the periphery of a metropolitan area, a small holding can offer a double opportunity: produce raised and consumed at home does not have to be reported as income and in good locations may easily run up to $500-$600 worth a year, and current rates at which farm land is being bought up for subdivisions, condemned for superhighways, or included in city limits support tidy possibilities of capital gains for owners or their heirs. Over-all, between March, 1957, and March, 1958, the year-to-year gain in the price of farm land averaged $6.815 per acre; value rose by at least five percent in 41 of the states, and in 13 states the gain amounted to eight percent or over.

CONSIDER the startling fact that if all the farmers who raise wheat and all the farmers who raise corn did not plant one single grain this year, supplies of both would be entirely adequate for next year. By the end of the current fiscal year, the value of agricultural products held off the farmers' hands and off the market by the Commodity Credit Corporation will approach $8 billion, and the annual bill for storing them will pass the $1 billion mark.

At the same time, the cost of our federal agricultural program has become a major government expenditure: it is likely to top $7 billion by the close of business next June 30. The pie charts showing the outgo of the public dollar presented with the President's 1960 budget show a 7 cent slice going to veterans and an 8 cent slice for farmers. But veterans and their families constitute nearly half of the US population; farmers and their families number 12 percent of America's 173,435,000 people.

Most farm forecasts suggest that the need for a farm program, if agriculture is to maintain even some degree of stability, will remain. They rightly forecast a sharp increase in demand since our population is increasing by some 3 million a year. With more than 190 million Americans having to be fed by the end of the next five-year period, much more of many commodities will be consumed. But the likelihood of the country's eating its way out of agricultural surpluses is remote: the required additions to present production could be made available simply by wider application of the top farm techniques *now in use*, with no allowance for future advances in what is currently a very dynamic technology. To illustrate, at the end of World War II, each worker in agriculture was producing enough to support himself and 13 other persons. Today, each such worker produces enough for himself and 23 other persons. *The expansion of output has gone on at a rate about twice as fast as the expansion of markets.*

For the immediate future, the increased plantings permitted under the 1958 farm legislation, and the re-

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lease of 20 million acres that had been held out of production by the now-terminated Soil Bank program, are expected to step up farm surpluses rather sharply. More meat animals will be on the market, thus turning prices down. The surplus problem may be expected to be larger, not smaller, next year.

Proposals for the future are numerous and it is not our purpose to outline them here in any detail. It should be said, however, that our conspicuous failure to hold down farm production, as farmers substitute fertilizer for acreage, machinery for labor (and applied new technology) has turned attention to new directions.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson's recent testimony has put the case for lower price supports and fewer controls, on the ground that farm prosperity comes in large part from the type of product which has not been price supported, and that farm adjustments in the direction of production of this kind would be accelerated by the diminution of federal supports.

Another approach, originally proposed by former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan and reappearing with various modifications, would be to let farm commodities sell at market levels that are the result of supply and demand, and then compensate the producer under a government program whose purpose would be to go at least part way toward the equalization of income in agriculture and other occupations and thereby keep able people on farms.

A third group of proposals hinges on the distribution of farm surpluses through non-commercial channels. Domestically, this has so far taken the form of making commodities available given to school lunch programs; and with persons over 65 forming a growing component of our lowest-income groups, distribution of food to enhance the incomes of retired persons is being suggested, either directly to them, or to geriatric institutions.

Internationally, food distribution in response to need has been begun through legislation to permit sales of surplus foods with payment in local currencies, and through the arrangement of various loans of wheat and other products. The continued contrast between the dietary levels of citizens in the United States and in most other countries is increasingly recognized as a danger to peace and the stability of the new governments of underdeveloped nations.

For the lower-income group of American farmers, the best agricultural program is perhaps one that brings them into industry. Transfers from rural slums to urban rabbit warrens is no net gain; as between an Appalachian cabin complete with its own still, and a Southside Chicago bedroom on the fourth-floor of a cold-water walk-up, it is better to listen to the mockingbird than to hear the tubercular cough beyond the partition. But the improved balance between agriculture and industry in most agricultural states is offering chances to many farm people to use the farm as a living-place and to enter the money economy of the country through other work performed elsewhere.

Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

Helen Fuller on Southerners and Schools

IN THE CAPITOLS of the Deep South not many cheers go up at mention of the names Kefauver, Gore and Clement. These three "Golden Boys" of Tennessee politics—who as national rivals regard each other with mutual suspicion—are held in equal disregard for refusing to defy the Supreme Court and, what is worse, proving it possible for Southern politicians to turn their backs on massive resistance without having the voters turn their backs on them.

Aside from Lyndon Johnson who as Majority Leader was excused by his Southern colleagues from taking a regional stand, Kefauver and Gore were the only two Southern Senators who did not sign the 1956 Southern Manifesto against the Court decision desegregating public schools. And Governor Clement that same year called out the state police and the National Guard to prevent mobs from interfering with desegregation at Clinton, Tennessee, and the next year encouraged the Mayor of Nashville to take strong measures against hoodlums who sought to prevent Negroes from entering Nashville schools. Nevertheless Senator Gore won reelection in 1958 by a 3-2 margin over an opponent who tried to make the Southern Manifesto the issue. Senator Kefauver seems in a strong position to withstand a similar assault in 1960. And Governor Clement succeeded, narrowly, in picking his successor, under Tennessee's one-term law, in last summer's primary. ("All the other candidates were running against me," Mr. Clement says.)

This is not the kind of news that Deep South "eternal defiance" leaders like to have get around. Nor is there

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any more cheer for them in reports of what is happening where the law is being obeyed.

You don't meet many people in Nashville who fail to remind the visitor that this is the "Athens of the South," and they show you a model of the Parthenon, left over from the 1898 Centennial celebration of the state's admission to the Union, to prove it. More tangible evidence is the comparative ease with which Nashville has begun desegregation of her public schools. And now that the fury of September, 1957, is fading from memory, there is a good deal of pride that this is so.

Thirty-four Negro first- and second- graders are now attending five Nashville schools which were all-white two years ago. Eleven of them entered the first grade last year in spite of riots, led by John Kasper and his followers outside several of the schools and dynamiting of one (the Hattie Cotton School in East Nashville). Twice as many Negro parents were willing for their children to pioneer in mixed classes this year, and at least three times as many are expected to apply for transfer to the white schools next term.

Parents, teachers, pupils and administrators report Nashville's experience to date a success. Which shows the wisdom of those who picked Nashville for an early legal test. Nashvilleans have been exposed to more enlightenment and Christian tolerance than most other Southerners. There are 10 colleges and universities—Negro and white—in the city. Baptists, Methodists and the Churches of Christ make their regional headquarters and publish most of the South's church and Sunday school literature there.

Negro and white colleges in Nashville maintain an exchange library service; Negroes attend graduate courses at Vanderbilt, Peabody, Scarritt, Maryville and the University of Tennessee School of Social Work; white students go to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. Parochial schools are desegregated. Both races can belong to the local League of Women Voters, AAUW, Academy of Medicine, American Nurses Association and National Association of Social Workers. Whites have served with Negroes on the boards of local colleges and settlements for a generation. And Nashville is one of the few Southern cities with housing and eating facilities for interracial meetings—various campuses have had them for 10 years or more.

The city has lifted race barriers on the municipal golf courses and at the public library and the railroad station without incident. And more recently, before pending suits could come to trial, the transit system was quietly integrated. Ads for Pepsodent and Wildroot were simply pasted over the signs on the insides of buses which had read "colored this end" and "white this end."

But "up to the time the school decision came, only women and do-gooders had thought much about integration," one of the leading do-gooders says, "When it grew clear that we couldn't avoid the issue any longer without jeopardizing the schools, however, some of the really substantial men in the community became concerned." (The Nashville Community Relations Conference had conducted a campaign to get these men into action: "We sat around a table one day and parcelled out the names of 200 of our leading men, 15 apiece. Then we called on them and explained why they should help get the school board to make plans for carrying out the orders of the Court.")

WHEN the important men in the community took over, there was a series of meetings with school officials where board members were given the assurance that "so long as they acted in good faith a number of fairly substantial people would back them up." And when Superintendent of Schools Bass devised a plan he believed would work and would be acceptable to the federal court, they did. Bass, who has since retired, comes from a rural county in northwest Tennessee where white supremacy views prevail; he himself strongly disapproves of integration. But he is first of all a dedicated school man. He integrated the school system's teacher committees when it became clear that white and Negro teachers would benefit from interchange. And when it was definite that Nashville could not have schools and segregation, he developed a plan to desegregate one grade at a time and fought for it. (After he had dispersed a howling white mob with a passionate speech on opening day in 1957, Mr. Bass remarked that "If ever a crowd needed education it is that one.")

The fact that the young federal judge who made the decision on the Nashville school case, Judge William E. Miller, is so highly respected strengthened the hand of Mr. Bass and his supporters. The fact that the sensible people were getting sound guidance from the *Nashville Tennessean* helped too. And the work which Negro leaders in PTA and other groups did to prepare parents for the differences they would face in the desegregated schools greatly eased tensions. But the reason that Nashville did not become another Little Rock was that her elected officials were not Faubuses.

When the opening day crisis came in Nashville, Governor Clement had already had his trial by fire. On a late summer morning the previous year he had called a meeting on the verandah of the Governor's mansion to discuss the urgent matter of the rioting at Clinton set off by John Kasper and White Citizens Council visitors from Alabama and elsewhere. Should he or should he not answer the plea of the mayor of Clinton for state troops to bring the mob under control? To do so obviously involved the political risk of seeming to go to the aid of the federal courts against the local segregationists. Present that morning were his wife, his father, several members of his cabinet, the adjutant general, the chief of highway police and his preacher. The Governor asked his preacher, the pastor of the McKendree Methodist

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Church, where Clement has taught a men's Sunday School class for years, to lead them in prayer; then he asked each one to give his advice. Before the meeting broke up Clement had ordered 50 highway patrolmen and a division of the Guard into Clinton. But the Governor took the precaution to order that no state troops were to set foot on school grounds. No child was to be escorted to school. This left him with a persuasive defense to use in the next campaign—as he did. He had been acting solely to preserve the peace—not to enforce integration. And he restored law and order in Clinton.

Some point out that Governor Clement, barred from running for reelection, was free of any immediate campaign inhibitions—and that what he did effectively advanced his position on the national stage where his ambition now centers. He explains that his respect for law and order—growing out of his training as a lawyer, as an agent for the FBI, and in the Christian religion—allowed him no choice. But whatever the reasons, his immediate, forceful action established a precedent for his friend, Mayor Ben West, to follow when the peace was threatened in Nashville.

When the 1957-58 school year opened on September 9, Mayor West was in the East, presiding over a meeting of the American Municipal Association of which he was president. A lawyer, with a liberal record in the State Senate, Ben West has been reelected mayor for 8 years. When he left home, there was not much thought of serious trouble. True, John Kasper was back in Nashville after serving time in prison for his performance at Clinton. And for two months he and Fred Stroud, an ousted Presbyterian minister who had set up a church of his own, had held almost nightly meetings agitating the least literate white parents to boycott the schools. But the police were not prepared for what happened that Monday morning.

Mobs gathered at most of the schools where Negro children were entering the first grade. Rocks and insults were hurled. Cars raced through the streets bearing KKK signs and Confederate flags. The police responded in feeble confusion. That night the Kasper crowd gathered on the capitol steps for a pep meeting, and a little after midnight a charge of dynamite went off in the Hattie Cotton School where one Negro child had enrolled the morning before.

Mayor West flew home at once, and by the next morning police had orders to crack down. When the mobs appeared at the schools again police stood in the doors to bar their way. Known agitators were taken into court, and the Mayor sought injunctions against the ringleaders. Judge Miller issued temporary—and later permanent—restraining orders against Kasper and nine others, forbidding them to interfere with school desegregation. And the worst was over.

"As it worked out," one reporter relates, "the dynamiting was to the advantage of the city. It happened at night when no one was hurt, and it woke people up. Most of Nashville just didn't want to face up to what the Supreme Court had said, either for it or against it. And it took the lawlessness to solidify the lawful element."

The "lawful element" and Mayor West have been in firm control in the 16 months since. (Although there are Tennessee liberals who place West in the class with the admirable Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, cynics in the Negro community suggest that their growing political power may have something to do with the excellent service. The flight of whites to the suburbs has been so massive that today about 30 percent of Nashville proper is Negro and more than half of the 30,000 Negroes eligible are registered to vote. Two Negroes have served on the City Council since before 1954 and there is now a Negro member of the school board.) When Jackie Robinson came to Nashville recently to address an NAACP rally, for example, the Mayor gave him a police escort to and from the airport and the keys to the city.

In the schools there is every sign of intelligent professional planning. A mental health specialist who is giving close attention to the desegregated schools told me he is impressed by the degree of protection the Negro children receive. "Every teacher and principal seems to be operating quietly but with extreme care to see that the Negro children get a strictly fair deal." And mothers in the Negro PTAs also report that from what their children say the principals and teachers are making a real effort.

No one with whom I talked in Nashville, Negro or white, questioned that the first grade was the place to begin—if there had to be a small beginning. (Few Negro leaders, however, believe that there was any need to do less than desegregate the whole school system at one time: "The city could have stood the shock.") Sex questions don't complicate matters in the lower grades, white parents say in explaining their preference. There isn't the problem of different levels of preparation that complicates things later on, and prejudices haven't had time to incubate in first-grade minds, others say.

The first-grade class I visited without prearrangement two days before Valentine Day seemed to bear out the latter. In fact it looked more like a shot from an NAACP documentary than the real thing. How had the mixing of races worked out, I asked the perfect Central Casting Model of a first-grade teacher? Why, just fine. No trouble at all. Some of the other teachers had asked how she was going to seat them and she worried about that but decided to let the children sit wherever they chose, just as she always had. They mixed up naturally. Did the whites and coloreds treat each other any differently, now that they had been together awhile? Well, come in and see. The children were having their mid-day rest, each on his own cot. Tacked all around the wall were

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paper sacks, each with a name printed on it, which had hung there all week. Everybody had made valentines and delivered them to those they liked. "Go bring your sacks, children, and show our visitors your gifts." Nobody had been short-changed.

One Negro boy, whose family income bracket had permitted him two years of kindergarten — above the reach of most in this school — is the accepted leader. That day he had brought the family encyclopedia to answer some questions that had come up the day before about butterflies.

The classes with Negro pupils play apart from the others so there is little opportunity for older children to create incidents with the little ones. And the few Negro children in Nashville who have experienced contact with white classmates, by all reports, are unshaken by it thus far. But this is not true of the parents.

A young Negro social worker, employed by the Junior-League-financed Mental Health Center, has interviewed the families of most of the first-year Negro children. The parents, she says, felt that the children were not aware of any special tension or excitement. The first days at school were so novel, so overwhelming, that the mob turmoil had made no special impression. The children adjusted. But some of the parents couldn't. Two of the mothers whose children entered the desegregated schools had to have doctor's care; one still does. Some mothers were too frightened by the crowds on opening day to take their children to the new school three blocks away and instead went back to the all-Negro school 15 blocks distant. (The young lady who conducted the study—and is bringing it up to date at present—is an interesting study herself. Educated in the Nashville public schools and the state Negro college, she became excited about mental health work when she held a clerical job in the Los Angeles Mental Health Department for a short time. Family reasons took her back to Nashville, and the Tennessee University School of Social Work accepted her as the only Negro in the class of '54. She works in the Mental Health Center now on an equal professional basis, with white as well as Negro cases she does not feel restricted in her friendships or have the desire to look outside the South for a job. When her youngest child starts school next year, she is not sure whether she will go to the nearby white school or the more distant one where her brother is enrolled: "I will have to find out more to know whether the white school is a better one.")

The experience with the "stair-step" plan of desegregation in Nashville is good so far as it goes. But it doesn't go very far. All except 34 of the 1,300 Negro children still attend all-Negro schools. The great majority will remain there because of residence even when desegregation extends to all grades. And that will be made more certain by improving schools in Negro neighborhoods (the city has built four new Negro schools in the last five years and made additions to two others) and further segregating Negro housing (two $20,000-$30,000 all-Negro developments have gone up in the suburbs, and federal Urban Renewal projects are resettling displaced families in all-Negro areas.)

But far more are eligible for hitherto white schools—which would be more convenient—than are entering them. 126 Negroes were eligible by residence to enter the all-white schools in 1957 when only 19 did. And eight of the 19 dropped out, most of them in the first three ugly days, leaving only 11 to finish the term. The Nashville branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a small interracial group of Martin Luther King's followers, made a study to find out what happened to the other 115. "CORE members reported the first-grade approach made it hard if not impossible for many families to take advantage of integration," they state.

> Mothers with babies or pre-school children usually depend on an older child to escort the 6-year-old to and from school. Sending the children to different schools would require the mother to accompany the first-grader. She would then have to leave the very youngest at home alone, or else hire a baby-sitter twice a day. The problem is tougher when both parents have jobs.
>
> Aside from the practicalities, some 6-year-olds quite naturally wanted to go to school with their older brothers and sisters. More than one parent said, "If I could send all my children to the neighborhood school, they would go—but not the first-grader, alone."

Some specific answers parents gave when questioned were:

> 1. "I have an older child in the Negro school and my first-grader needs his protection."
> 2. "I am not well, so I am keeping my child out of school the first week."
> 3. "The child is not well enough to go and register."
> 4. "We are planning to move to another community within Nashville."
> 5. "I don't want to make my child a guinea pig."
> 6. "When these folks get off the school grounds and quit threatening on the telephone, I'll send my child to the integrated school."

An NAACP leader estimates that at least 50 of the families who did not choose to transfer to the white schools were restrained by the fact that the older children in the family had to continue in their former schools. Others say the violence and threats of Kasper's followers were the greatest deterrents. And they point to the increasing number of transfers this year and to the fact that only two of the group entering in 1958 have dropped out—and one had expected in advance to move to Ohio during the term. Some emphasize the fact that school district lines were redrawn shortly before the first Negroes were admitted (to bring the number eligible

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down to the paltry 126, the critics say) and many parents were confused about where their children were entitled to go (school officials are accused of making no effort to clear up the confusion).

White segregationists see in the small proportion of eligible Negroes who have transferred to the white schools proof that Negroes want segregation as much as they do. NAACP spokesmen, and most other Negro leaders as well, say it merely proves that less than full desegregation won't work. NAACP lawyers have attached a brief to this effect to an appeal challenging the present Nashville desegregation plan now pending in federal District Court.

Not even the Federation for Constitutional Government, Nashville's more sedate version of the White Citizens Councils, really feels it worthwhile, however, to agitate for anything less than "stair-step" desegregation anymore.

But Nashville is not Tennessee. And the rest of the state traditionally reserves the right to disagree with "Athens." Tennessee, as V. O. Key explained in his definitive work *Southern Politics*, "is a narrow ribbon of real estate stretching from North Carolina to the Mississippi."

> From Bristol in the far northeast to Memphis in the southwest about equals the distance from Hartford, Connecticut, to Cleveland, Ohio. Tennessee's far western counties are but northward projections of Mississippi; its eastern mountain counties share both the topography and the spirit of western North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Between West Tennessee and East Tennessee lies Middle Tennessee, a fertile bowl, sometimes called locally the "dimple of the universe," whose principal city is Nashville.

And the diversity in geography has produced a distinct difference in political behavior, going back to the Civil War. "The dispute over slavery and secession," Key says, "forged Tennessee partisan alignments into a form that has persisted to this day."

> Slavery was both unprofitable and unpleasing to the people of the mountains of East Tennessee. The plantation system never flourished in the hills and the small farmer who tilled his own land could take no stock in the theory of slavery as a divinely ordained institution. Even less was he disposed to defend the slave property of his planter neighbor to the west.
>
> In 1861 East Tennessee had few slaves and was unionist; West and Middle Tennessee held slaves and Confederate sentiments. . . . Twice—in February and June, 1861—they voted against secession, but the slave interests of West and Middle Tennessee took the state out of the union. . . .
>
> Today East Tennessee harbors many Republicans while Middle and West Tennessee are Democratic strongholds.

All these differences will stand out again when the other three big cities of the state face the decision concerning the schools which Nashville has had to make. Knoxville, on the eastern border (capital of TVA territory, university center, with an enlightened city government backed by a sizable labor and Negro vote) will probably accede with reasonably good grace to a court order to desegregate when it comes (perhaps next fall).

Memphis, in the extreme southwest, next door to Mississippi, will find it much harder to accommodate. But the fact that there are few mixed neighborhoods in the city and Memphis' large middle class places a high value on the public school system should help soften the blow. (The city's colleges and the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* would also have a benign influence.)

Chattanooga, on the Alabama-Georgia border, will take any desegregation order far harder. A town of the very rich and the very poor, Chattanooga has a minute middle class and a large Ku Klux Klan. Many of the latter are "Georgia commuters" who work in Chattanooga but live across the state line and look to Talmadge and Atlanta and not to Nashville for direction. And the racist feelings ingrained in them from that source are encouraged daily by the destructive *Chattanooga Free Press*. (The opposition *Chattanooga Times*, owned by the *New York Times* Ochs family, which has urged toleration of the Supreme Court school decision, lost 10,000 subscribers last year.)

With almost no local organization Albert Gore's strongly segregationist opponent for the Senate, former Governor Prentice Cooper, swamped Gore in Chattanooga in 1958. In that same primary, promising the voters to put up the kind of battle to preserve segregation they seemed to want, attorney Ralph Kelley was elected to represent Chattanooga in the state legislature. And since the General Assembly convened in January he has introduced bills to change the school laws written in Governor Clement's term to make it far more difficult for other school boards to go even as far as Nashville has gone toward compliance.

Support for the Kelley bills is reported to be growing, and the Governor, Buford Ellington, who was elected last year by less than 9,000 votes over a violent segregationist, Andrew "Tip" Taylor, says "If the bills reach my desk, I'm probably obligated to sign them because of campaign promises." However, his friends believe Ellington will change his mind when he hears from the attorney-general. Lawyers for the state who have studied the proposed laws fear that "if the Kelley bills are enacted, the courts may look at all our school bills and declare them all part of a package to maintain segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and throw them all out." In that case, all would be confusion —a confusion welcome to the "Tip" Taylors of Tennessee who badly need an issue on which to oppose Kefauver's re-election in 1960 and Clement's aspirations to that seat or to return to the governor's chair in 1962.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Ruth Benedict: Culture as Personality

by Donald Cook

RUTH BENEDICT'S *Patterns of Culture* was published in 1934 in the midst of what is termed, in a recent review of anthropology, "a very significant decade" (1926-36). This book embodied many of the trends which made that decade significant. Especially is this true of its cross-disciplinary nature; it is still of interest not only to anthropologists, but to social psychologists, sociologists, and even some economists. Further, the work is unique in having reached an incredibly wide audience. My paperback copy (a 1957 printing) is the fourteenth printing in paperback alone; it has been translated into fourteen languages. It is hard to get through college without encountering the work in some course—sometimes even freshman composition. When you read Auden's stanza

> Malinowski, Rivers,
> Benedict and others
> Show how common culture
> Shapes the separate lives:
> Matrilineal races
> Kill their mothers' brothers
> In their dreams and turn their
> Sisters into wives. . . .

there is one name there will be no question about. And yet this work, so famous, is difficult to summarize or evaluate. Within the social sciences its status is ambiguous. Margaret Mead wrote of *Patterns of Culture* that it is "one of the great books of the second quarter of the 20th Century." But a department chairman in anthropology wrote recently: "By no stretch of the imagination could we label such magnificent poetic works as *Patterns of Culture,* scientific." I think there is more to the issue than the usual dialectic of trends and countertrends, of disciples and dissidents. For this book is the embodiment of a number of issues in the social sciences; also, it is the major work of a remarkable and many-sided person, in whom personal conflicts ran deep into intellectual and theoretical development.

An Anthropologist at Work: writings of Ruth Benedict, by Margaret Mead (Houghton Mifflin; $6).

A sense of professional development is given by the inclusion in the present volume of writings in anthropology stretching from 1922 to 1948, the year of Benedict's death. These are bound together by Margaret Mead's own reminiscences, dating from 1922 when she, as a senior at Barnard, met Benedict, who "was the assistant who took us trips to the American Museum of Natural History to illustrate the materials of the course." Mead recounts how her own interest led her to break through Benedict's "inarticulate shyness, and her habit of wearing always the same dress and that not a very becoming one." The friendship of these two developed and remained close, professionally as well as personally. The descriptions of Benedict's career and influence are greatly enriched by selections from personal documents of hers. There are parts of journals from 1912-16, and additional fragments which play out in 1934. There are diaries from 1923 and 1926, sixteen pages of an autobiography begun in 1935 but never continued, and selections from correspondence with the anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir, Mead herself, and with their common mentor and the "father of American anthropology," Franz Boas.

FROM these materials we can reconstruct the main outlines of a life. Born in Norwich, New York, Ruth Fulton came from "Old American stock," (as is carefully pointed out on the jacket of her book, *Race: Science and Politics*). She grew up, with a sister 18 months younger, her mother and maternal grandparents, on the old farm she was later to inherit. Her father, a successful doctor, died when she was nearly two. A hysterical scene beside his coffin, in which her mother "implored (her) to remember," is discussed quite bitterly as an archetype for several themes which became strong in her. "I did not love my mother; I resented her cult of grief . . . every March she wept in church and in bed at night . . . loving my father's face, I had violently repudiated her and her grief."

She became isolated, resisted warmth and closeness, ran away several times, and had ungovernable tantrums in which she was violent to herself or to anyone else within reach. She had a secret "grave" where she would lie as dead for hours; it was here she decided: ". . . if I didn't talk to anybody about the things that mattered to me no one could ever take them away. I think that was the fundamental knowledge I lived on till I was thirty-five." Such details, and the terrible reticence about expressing pain or crying, suggest that warmth and sympathy had been put into the service of coercive control by those about her. "I used to get a penny for every day when I answered each time at the first word." But it was later discovered that childhood measles had left her partially deaf—an impediment which remained throughout her life.

A critical incident occurred when she was eleven:

> I was having a seizure every day or so. . . . Mother talked to me solemnly and dictated a promise, which I repeated after her, never to have another tantrum. She went out of the room and brought back a Bible and a candle, and gave it to me to read at a verse which invoked the aid of Jehovah. . . . I never had another tantrum. . . . what succeeded them were depressions.

Both tantrums and depressions she called her "devils," and the latter version was to plague her for many years, imparting a sense of meaninglessness to both her personal and social outlook, common in people with intense needs who must nonetheless reject the socially available outlets which serve most others. Mead describes an instance of the epiphany of meaninglessness for Benedict: "I can still recall the passionate repudiation in her voice as she looked at the towers of Notre Dame, across the Seine from where we were sitting in a little churchyard, and said, 'Isn't it unbearable that all that is about nothing?' " The long, slow road back was to come through a compassionate

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regard for the meaning given by their ways of life in the alien peoples she later studied.

IN 1909 Ruth graduated from Vassar, where her mother had gone before her. There followed a year in Europe, and a year in Buffalo with her mother, where she did social service work. Her younger sister married. Then for three years she taught English in California girls' schools. Journal extracts from this period illustrate a growing desperation, conflict in the approach to her marriage in 1914, and the gradual definition of a yet unfulfilled role: 1912 (age 25):

> I've just come through a year in which I've not dared to think . . . bitterness at having lived at all . . . my real me was a creature . . . terrorized by loneliness, frozen by a sense of futility, obsessed by a longing to *stop* . . . [But] the mask was tightly adjusted. . . . So much of the trouble is because I am a woman. To me it seems a very terrible thing to be a woman. . . . There are so few ways in which we can compete with men. . . . If we are not to have a chance to fulfill . . . the power of loving—why were we not born men?
>
> My longing for understanding has been a bitter cry against blindness; my longing for expression, an impatient contempt of any word I could utter; my longing for service, a dull ache of knowledge of our isolation from each other, and of the futility of our helpfulness.
>
> Does the sense of personal worth, this enthusiasm for one's own personality, belong only to great expressive souls? . . . —of all blessings on earth I would choose to have a man-child who possessed it.

Such painful and revealing introspections, however, lead to insights which were to form the basis for her later views as to the nature of cultures, how they achieve integrity, and in what manner they may be assessed and compared:

> The trouble with life isn't that there is no answer, it's that there are so many answers. There's the answer of Christ and of Buddha, of Thomas à Kempis and of Elbert Hubbard, of Browning, Keats and of Spinoza, of Thoreau and of Walt Whitman, of Kant and of Theodore Roosevelt. By turns their answers fit my needs. And yet, because I am I and not any one of them, they can none of them be completely mine. There is a certain egotism that is not born with us, nor achieved, but which is at length thrust upon us—the stinging knowledge that for ourselves we must build up our own answer, that not even a Kant or a Christ can answer it for us.
>
> It is strange in looking over other people's answers to the great riddle, how little it seems to signify whether or not they felt they had solved it . . . I suppose Keats died gasping in the thick fog of the unanswerable, and Ibsen never really left off playing the Sphinx. What we call answers are, rather, attitudes taken by different temperaments toward certain characteristic problems—even the interrogation may be an "answer."

This statement, developed in the struggle over issues of personal meaning, was later to be applied in the analysis of cultures and their value-systems. For a culture, in Benedict's phrase, is "a personality writ large."

In May, 1913, she wrote, "Stanley's ruled out." But by August she decided to marry him, and made these resolutions of enthusiasm: "... Do we care whether Beatrice formed clubs or wrote a sonnet? In the quiet self-fulfilling love of Wordsworth's home, do we ask that Mary Wordsworth should have achieved individual self-expression? . . . We learn it at last—that the one gift in our treasure-house is love—love—love."

AND SO in 1914 she did marry Stanley Benedict, a biological chemist who had praised her father's cancer research, and who became very famous as a researcher, teacher and editor, and is credited with opening a new era in the analytical biochemistry of metabolism.

Before her marriage was a year old, she wrote: "My pet scheme is to steep myself in the lives of restless and highly enslaved women of past generations and write a series of biographical papers from the standpoint of 'the new woman'." The women chosen were Mary Wollstonecraft, Margaret Fuller, and Olive Schreiner. A draft of the first of these "sympathetic portraits" was written around 1917, and is included in this volume; but the project stopped there.

In December, 1915: "And surely the world has need of my vision as well as of Charity Committees." For she had tried teaching Sunday school in the early years of her marriage, only to be dismissed when she gave her class the assignment of looking up Jesus in the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica.* She had volunteered for a State Charities Aid Association, but remained unconvinced that the suburbs were that much better off than the slums.

Friends knew of her struggles. A college classmate wrote:

> The trouble is, both you and Stanley have too much brain power, and you tend to work too hard. Don't be old before your time. I hope you will move to the village, and have a good time, and several love affairs, next year. Of course, there is no stake in life, only a series. . . . I shall always feel you'd get a good deal out of analysis. You are, in many ways, a very suppressed person.

By 1916, friction with Stanley had become severe: "Last night Stanley and I talked. We hurt each other badly. . . . I said that for the sake of our love—our friendship, rather—I must pay my way in a job of my own."

May, 1917: "I was to make good in writing—I've not touched it. I thought I had done with the meddling of social work."

October, 1920: "Why must we go on hurting each other so cruelly . . . we grow more and more strangers to the other—united only by . . . an intolerable pity for each other as human beings cruelly tortured."

The marriage remained childless, and there was talk of a divorce. But instead, in 1919, Ruth Benedict enrolled in anthropology courses in the New School for Social Research. She was 32.

FROM such a "late" start, she moved very rapidly. After two years at the New School, she entered Columbia in 1921. In two years she published two papers on the distribution of the vision and guardian spirit traits in American Indian cultures; the second paper was her doctoral dissertation—the fifteenth to be submitted to Columbia's Department of Anthropology under Franz Boas.

During the decade of the 20's Benedict studied under Boas, taught at Barnard and Columbia, did field work in four American Indian areas, and wrote several more papers. By 1930 there came to fruition the first major climax of the social sciences in America—the publication of the first volumes of the fifteen-

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volume *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Almost comparable in scope, ambition, and the ferment which attended its preparation, to the *Encyclopedia* of the French Enlightenment, this work was launched in part by the initial stimulation of Alexander Goldenweiser, who had been Benedict's teacher at the New School. By the time it reached publication, Benedict was an editorial consultant, and the author of eight of its articles (among them: *Animism, Child Marriage, Folklore, Magic, Ritual*). Boas is represented, and, among others of his pupils, Mead and Sapir.

But it was to be some time before her anthropology was to be enough. "It haven't strength of mind not to need a career," she would say; on her professional publications she used her married name, "which I always think of as a *nom de plume*." For she began now, secretly from her husband and from Boas too, to write and publish poems, using the pseudonym Anne Singleton. She shared her secret with Margaret Mead, and together they knew and saw other poets—all women: Louise Bogan, Leonie Adams, Louise Townsend Nicholl.

But Benedict also shared her secret with Edward Sapir, who in addition to his work in linguistics and anthropology, also wrote both poetry and music (which also was kept secret from Boas!). This volume presents some of Sapir's half of their voluminous correspondence in the early 20's. We see detailed commentary on the poems Benedict was sending him, poems of his own (many of their poems were dedicated to each other), plans for publication. Both had scattered publication in the *Nation, Poetry* and elsewhere, but their volumes were rejected by publishers. By 1929 serious differences had apparently come between them, and both poetry and letters were coming to an end. (Benedict's poems are in this volume. Many are sonnets—tight, controlled, often bitter; full of the struggle of puritanism with yearnings for expressive release. Images of death, deserts, cold, dying fires, rituals practiced after their meanings have been forgotten — these persist after a single reading. A few of them are in Untermeyer's anthropology, under the name "Anne Singleton.")

The correspondence of this period is full of developing personal relations which eventually become theoretical alignments. Benedict and Mead correspond between the American southwest and Samoa. Boas writes to Benedict: "In my opinion Sapir has read too many books on psychiatry . . . he does not really know the subject and therefore always sees abnormal things in the most disastrous forms." And Sapir writes to Benedict: "There is something cruel, Ruth, in your mad love of psychic irregularities. Do you not feel that you extract your loveliness from a mutely resisting Nature who will have her terrible revenge?"

By 1930, Benedict had settled, both in her personal life and theoretical orientation, into a stable pattern. She separated from Stanley, though they were never divorced. She stopped writing poetry, and saw less of Sapir. But Sapir's influence was never to terminate completely. Sapir is credited with being one of the main founders of the "culture and personality" school in anthropology, and Mead and Benedict were outstanding among the many people he influenced in this direction. Through Sapir's friendship with Harry Stack Sullivan of the Washington School of Psychiatry, liason was established between the new trends and the development of American psychiatry. In the first issue of Sullivan's new journal, *Psychiatry*, in 1938, Benedict and Sapir each had a paper. Benedict's was "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," perhaps her most frequently cited work; Sapir's was "Why Cultural Anthropology Needs the Psychiatrist."

The evolution that anthropology underwent during the "significant decade" may be put something like this. The historical reconstruction of human history in anthropology employed the methods of archaeology, linguistics, and the newer information about biological man developed in the context of evolutionary theory. Beyond the effort to describe, carried to a new rigor by the exacting standards of Boas, a great deal of interest was devoted to studies of the diffusion of cultural traits, with the purpose of tracing the spread of the human species, the history of inventions and technologies, etc.

Benedict's early papers are diffusion studies, but already show interest in the alteration and re-shaping of religious beliefs in different cultures. During the twenties she became progressively more interested in the characteristic features of a given culture which gave it individuality or integrity in its selection from an infinite range of possible practices, beliefs and institutions. It seemed as if a culture had a personality of its own which governed its responsiveness.

Classical anthropology had not been interested in this problem, or when it arose, disposed of it in ways which Benedict now brought under attack. The three conventional ways of disposing of such integral (rather than accidental) cultural differences had been to assert (1) that each "tribal mentality" represented a stage achieved on a linear evolutionary scale culminating in the rationality of modern European man; (2) that different cultural propensities are genetically transmitted as "racial" differences; and (3) that accidents of geography, climate, raw materials, and other features of the physical environment could appropriately explain cultural differences. Such views are not held seriously today, except by those engaged in defending some status quo giving them an advantage over some other group, but in Benedict's day the battle

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was still raging in academic circles. Her answer was to invoke the traditions of the culture itself as a self-maintaining selective system.

Now the detailed analysis of the character or ethos of a people is not a new activity. Earlier writers such as Montesquieu and Tacitus may be cited. But a new feature of such work in anthropology was to examine, not only the public institutions and laws, but informal, covert behavior, such as child-rearing practices, intimate aspects of sex-morality and religious training, everyday events such as jokes and teasing. The deviant is seen as a characteristic product of the culture no less than the conformer. This interest was very close to Benedict's heart, and in her extended analysis of the cultural definition of normality, she writes: "A tendency toward homosexuality in our culture exposes an individual to all the conflicts to which all aberrants are always exposed, and we tend to identify the consequences of this conflict with homosexuality."

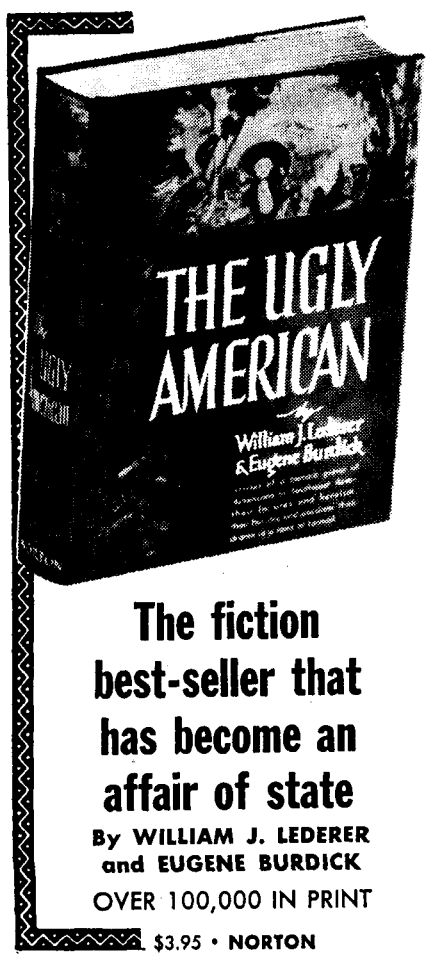
In such a comment on the socially determined status of the "deviate," there is little individual psychologizing. Benedict did not develop or employ an explicit psychology, and her work is perhaps the more timeless because it was content to leave certain problems posed but unsolved. Important psychological questions lie just beneath the surface of her work, as they do in Sapir's

Over the same time period as Benedict did her work, other parallel developments were taking place in the sciences of behavior and society; Freud's principles of psychosexual development were undergoing restatement as an account of individual socialization within the family. It remained for anthropology to show that the family constellation itself varied as part of the cultural pattern, so that roles toward a child—nurturant, disciplinary, erotic, punitive—can be shown to be present in varying degrees in varying groups, and further, parceled out in different ways. From this framework it is possible to study the preparation of a child for a role in his culture (including a deviant or disruptive role), and to begin to study his unreflective propensity to pass along the same or variant tendencies to the next generation as he raises his own children. It is, indeed, thanks to "Benedict and others" that contemporary psychology posits no lists of "basic drives" as it did two generations ago, but looks first to the institutions which have mediated the individual's history of reward and punishment.

In her last years, the woman who once scorned her own inclination to "social work" became increasingly involved in social issues and applications. She worked for the government during the war, preparing memoranda on attitude patterns in occupied countries; this work culminated in her fascinating work on Japan, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Increasingly she wrote on questions of race. *Race: Science and Politics* appeared in 1940. A brief pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind," which she wrote with Gene Weltfish in 1943, became the center of a controversy on the eve of its distribution by the US Army Morale Division, and was characterized by a House Military Affairs Subcommittee as filled with "all the techniques . . . of Communist propaganda."

In the later years of her career, a sense of urgency must have possessed her, for in addition to her writings on race prejudice, there appear many letters and reviews: on our declaration of war, on youth as "the new minority," on the Hatch Act, on Hiroshima.

The compassion and honesty in Benedict's character brought her, as she struggled with her personal demons, not only back into the problems of her own culture, but also finally into the essential tradition of liberal humanism. The excitement of Herodotus at tales of other peoples and their ways; the stir of the Renaissance in fertilizing itself with Greek and Roman cultures; the reflections on European manners and morals set off in Montaigne by his conversations with a South American native — this sense of enlightenment was the intellectual food of Western civilization. What binds all such cases together is the effort to surmount the limiting perspectives of any local system—be it of tribe, clan, religion or culture. If the sciences have now become a new source of this tradition of exploration and evaluation, the fundamental process is nevertheless the same. It is to be honored in Ruth Benedict, as it is to be honored wherever it is found.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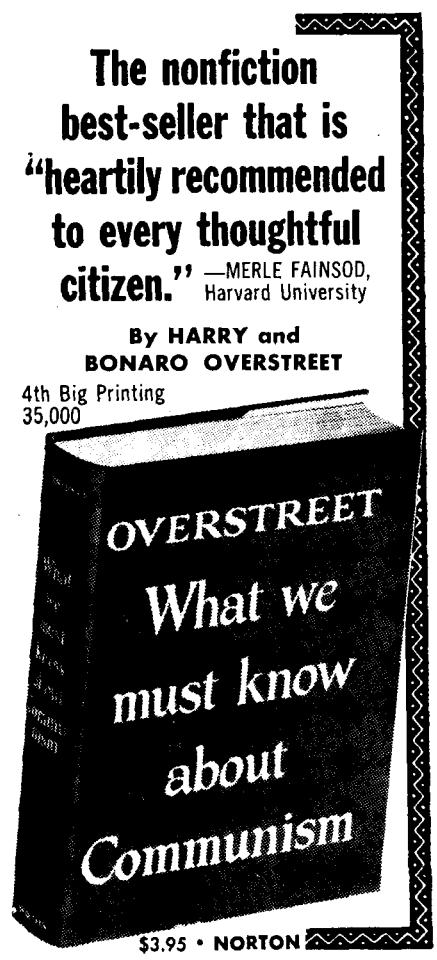
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ART

Dutch Treat

KNOCKING AROUND the country right now is a show of 50 paintings from the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. The exhibition was assembled by the Stedelijk director, W. J. H. B. Sandberg, and Thomas M. Messer, director of the Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, where it opened last month. The show is the second of a series Messer seems to be developing. The first, in the fall of 1957, was from the *Musée National d'Art Moderne* in Paris. Messer is an old hand and a good one at international art exchange. He was formerly exhibitions director of the American Federation of Art. Incidentally, he was AFA director when that organization ceased being a chosen instrument of the state department over the issue of "left wing" affiliations of artists represented in shows assembled by AFA for government circulation abroad. His immediate and unyielding response, shared by his trustees, to government prudence in the face of Congressional organized ignorance, had a lot to do with the determined stand and the edifying sacrifice of revenue for principle that AFA made. (Those who like to see virtue rewarded will be glad to know that the Federation is now the chosen instrument of the Ford Foundation, obviously a better financial bet than the government.)

Messer's new series recognizes that there is more to art than one's visual experience with paintings liked or disliked. There is a national context, an institutional context and a historical context. The cultivated primitivism of regarding the world of art as newly born with every new painting one encounters relieves the museum director as it relieves the critic of the responsibility of keeping in touch with all his experience all the time, and it therefore offers wider scope to one's personal palpitations. But, seductive as these rewards appear, such primitivism is finally self-defeating—to the artist as well as to the functionary or critic or visitor to exhibitions. Our pleasure in art, as it is elsewhere, is cumulative. Adam naming the beasts and the infant discovering the world are both gone beyond recall. On rare occasions we may indeed stand silent on a peak in Darien, but even then we do well to remember that we crossed the Atlantic to get there.

The Stedelijk show, then, offers more than a group of good paintings we could otherwise see only in Holland. It offers a view of the view of modern art in Holland. Just a very few Americans can honestly say their taste owes nothing to that of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., so the Stedelijk shapes, even as it is shaped by, the taste of Holland in modern painting.

That headline insuring figure, one million dollars, is given out as the value of the show, but about half that amount is taken care of by five Van Goghs, all from his last four years. These are the only 19th Century paintings. After Van Gogh, the exhibition divides into Dutch, French and international sections. Including Van Gogh, the Dutch take up half the show, which is as it should be, both from the Stedelijk's responsibilities to its place and from our own interest in a Dutch museum.

The French section includes some beautiful examples of men who, even though they weren't American, did create the art of this century. The Picasso "Seated Woman," with the parts all distorted and shoved somewhat out of place, and with a fish, a lemon and a crossed knife and fork on her head, can stand superbly from a great deal of his strongest work. A Matisse "Odalisque" similarly sums up the elegance, charm and refined sensuousness of his whole output. The always astonishing combination of the strength of Picasso and the charm of Matisse is achieved again in Braque's "Still Life" wherein shadow and substance balance each other and are deepened by the muted colors of olives, grapes, lemons and leaves. Marc Chagall's innocent sexuality rides again with his "Horsewoman," who, side saddle and bare breasted, is embraced by a lover as their mount holds posies and a violin beneath its jaw. There are also a shimmering Delaunay vision of "Circular Forms," a good Vuillard and a rather unusual Bonnard, but for me the standout in the group is Leger's "Three Comrades." The painting, done in 1920, more or less splits the difference between his earlier, murky cubism and his later, brilliantly colored "tubism." The composition is more complex and more satisfying than a great many of his pressed flowers and pressed people against a simple sky-earth background.

The international section has some remarkable things, too. One is "The Horde" by Max Ernst. Thin brown paint is articulated sketchily by light and dark lines. Around this flows a sea of bright, flat blue, shaping the brown into marshfolk from some old tale. Ernst touches up the edges here and there with black, but the picture retains the quality of the half-formed, the accidental merging into something real and purposeful. Ernst thus achieves, in 1927, what so many American Schmeerkunst men are raucously straining for today. The subconscious is probed, but probed by the conscious, not by itself.

BUT the special interest has to be the Dutch and there the main focus is on Mondrian and his friends, who supply six of the 20 Dutch pictures and are the real Hollandaise of the show, Van Gogh being French, and the other Dutchmen being German or international.

Two early Mondrians establish the well known connection with canals and dykes, the order of an unusually ordered landscape brought into abstract painting. And there are two fine examples of the rectalinear primary colors on white with straight black lines. What you get is an exquisite balance that is highly improbable, like that of an extraordinary juggler on the high wire. Everything ought to fall over, but it never does. Van Doesburg's balancing act is more complex, Van der Leck's more playful.

Mondrian's influence is far from dead, in spite of his precision, elegance, and all-around intellectuality. A young American named Eli Bornstein leads a new group at the University of Saskatchewan, and Albers untiringly circles the square. On the furthest frontier and doing by far the best work is Ad Reinhardt.

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TELEVISION

Go Western, Young Writer

A LITTLE more than 25 percent of all the movies ever made have been Westerns and television is approaching the same proportion. It is all mystifying to the producers. No one understands why Westerns are so popular, and when men are investing millions in making a product it unnerves them not to know why people want it and what they use it for. Every *Variety* announces someone's new theory: people like the violence, they like the simplicity, the maleness of the symbolism of gunfights, the release of tension. The consensus at the moment seems to be that audiences like escape into what Stanley Kauffmann referred in these pages as "that lovely uncivilized feeling." James Garner, who plays the lead of *Maverick*, an hour Western, once explained it thus: "The heroes have perfect socio-economic mobility."

The adult television Western represents a flight from reality all right, but I suspect it is not the public fleeing so much as it is the creators. Television is fenced in by so many vexations in handling honest drama that its only solution is to make Westerns.

Consider the conditions under which television drama is made. The first rule in testing an idea for a story or a series is to think of who might object to it. If it could offend a government bureau or lobby, no sponsor with government contracts will want it. Thus stories about farmers, generals, Indians and lobbyists are difficult to sell. Most stories that touch however remotely on government matters are cleared with the government as a matter of routine. Nothing critical of generals is going to get on the air.

Try a story about a lynch mob. It might offend members of lynch mobs, who also smoke, wash and support the economy by taking pills for their headaches. A producer approaches such a story in the spirit of a veterinarian debarking a dangerous dog. He decides it's all a misunderstanding; the mob repents; instead of lynching the man they elect him to high public office. This is not as silly as it sounds. *Noon on Doomsday*, an undistinguished but good hearted drama that suggested the Emmett Till case was relocated in New England and the victim rewritten into an unidentifiable vagueness. During production a Coca Cola bottle was removed from the set, because Coca Cola, as everybody knows, was invented in the South. Reginald Rose's *Thunder on Sycamore Street* was fixed up by changing the key figures from a Negro to an ex-convict, and an unjustly convicted convict at that.

Or the producer can take the story back to the frontier, where flotsam of the "Civil War, renegades, ranchers and sodbusters forge the history of a nation against the beauty of the savage Tetons. Back there it no longer appears to relate to reality. The writer can say almost anything about Cavalry generals without consulting with the Pentagon. It is the writers who flee the present, taking with them most of the real moral conflicts television cares to confront.

This has nothing to do with the sort of Westerns whose heroes are characterized solely by whether they pick off their enemies with a rifle or club them to death with canes. It has everything to do with the superiority of *Gunsmoke* over the fatuity of the *Loretta Young Show* or the flaccid nonsense of *GE Theater* and the rest. *Gunsmoke* is the most popular show on the air, and it is one of the best by any standards. Its characters have a sense of humor about themselves. They convey a rudimentary idea of place, of people sorely tried, who sweat and suffer. *Gunsmoke*, *Maverick*, and occasionally *Have Gun, Will Travel*, are apt to give wry and revealing twists of character to standard plots. Their sodbusters are vicious because they're hungry, their villains dangerous because they're scared. Their dancehall girls are unmistakably businesswomen. Perhaps the reason they are so popular is that they are more honest, varied and interesting than anything else on the air.

This is heresy. For despite *Gunsmoke's* dazzling financial success, the industry is oddly resistant to its lesson. Even the first producer of *Gunsmoke*, Charles Marquis Warren, is baffled by it. "It just shows people will go for that go-nowhere dialogue," he has said. Professional Western writers are worrying about psychology and modern overtones slowing down the action. They seem to believe Westerns' appeal lies exactly in their unreality, which is the same reason their strongest critics attack them. The producers stick rigidly to form, as though Westerns had to be the same story over and over again. They all miss the point: Westerns are only a highly stylized set of theatrical conventions, within which tales of vastly varying sophistication may be told. The really successful Westerns fictionalize reality, which is not at all the same thing as falsifying it.

BOTH the hope and despair of Westerns is that audiences will accept any sort of story, so long as there is virtuosity in the performance. They know who is going to be shot from the moment he steps on camera, but they must be surprised when it happens. It is like a *pas de deux* of classical ballet. And it is almost the only common theatrical event where audience and artist are meeting on common ground, where, once the conventions are satisfied, some semblance of human truth can be intimated. If someone is going to write a true tragedy for the popular theatre it is almost certainly going to be a Western. On television it is the only way it could be tried.

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A COMMUNICATION

Will the Liberals Repeat Their Mistakes?

IT IS, I think, a matter of utmost importance that Anglo-American liberals not fall into the trap of the thirties, when the Labor Party was largely pacifist, isolationist and pro-German, and so many of our brethren were with Bert Wheeler, Borah and Norris.

As I read your editorial of February 16 on Germany, you are willing to dismantle NATO; get foreign troops out of Germany; forbid Germany to join any military alliance; and forbid atomic weapons and rockets to Germany, *even though Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Hungary remain in chains.* You would apparently not disarm Germany, but would allow a United Germany to arm in all save atomic weapons, and then play diplomatic hob between East and West. It appears from your editorial that you are even willing to allow the Communist dictatorship in East Germany to survive for a period of transition, during which Ulbricht would be a kind of Badoglio or Darlan, helpfully arranging for a shift of power to democrats. In short, behind a face saving formula, Russia would give up a small, weak and expensive satellite, whose population is declining. It would gain the destruction of all that allied diplomacy has accomplished since 1949 in the creation of NATO.

I stress that NATO developed in response to two facts: Russian violation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements about political freedom in Eastern Europe: and Russian rejection of the offer to participate in the Marshall Plan. The realities represented by those crucial acts are as threatening today as they were in 1949 and 1950.

Your position goes far beyond what Bertrand Russell urges—he always assumes that some wave of the wand will free the satellites—and far beyond George Kennan's proposals, insofar as I can understand them.

If . . . it were accepted, such a policy would shift the balance of power against us appallingly. The exchange of East Germany for NATO-*cum*-the neutralization-of-Germany would be an exchange of a rabbit for an elephant. It would recognize as permanent immense Russian conquests in the War; by the same token, the Western Allies would abandon one of their chief military gains from the War, namely, the transfer of Germany to the Allied side. Such a surrender would reduce the peoples of Poland and the other satellites to a condition of fear, hopelessness and panic. Many would conclude that their only chance would be the forlorn and desperate act of forcing our flaccid hand by a new uprising of the Hungarian type. In the West, the collaborators would rise automatically, and we should be left isolated in a world of men who felt we had betrayed them.

Actually, the process would not run so far, in all probability. The chances are that the human spirit would revolt first. We should discover again that appeasement leads to war.

No, acceptance of your line would represent a reversion to all that was wrong with British and American foreign policy between 1919 and 1939. Let's not forget that Churchill's first volume of Memoirs is called *The Unnecessary War.*

There is a general and justifiable sense of restlessness in the country, as people confront the immobile, unimaginative and purely defensive foreign policy of the Administration on this front over the last six years. It would surely be desirable to break through the rigid limits of our present position. Last week (*NR*, February 23) I suggested an approach to the problem which might have more promise: that of a "European" solution for the German question, which could end the fear of German aggression, and help establish a stable, creative and progressive body politic between the Soviet Union and ourselves. But the line of your editorial, and the comparable suggestions of Senator Mansfield, would achieve flexibility in only one direction —that of potentially disastrous retreat.

I remain in sorrowful dissent. It is so important for the leading voices of American liberalism — like yours — to concentrate on realities. I expect we shall soon hear the cry "War over Berlin?" recalling "Die for Danzig?"

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Yale Law School

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AN UNHURRIED VIEW OF EROTICA

- *book by* **RALPH GINZBURG**
- *introduction by* **DR. THEODOR REIK**
- *preface by* **GEORGE JEAN NATHAN**

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Beginning with a deliciously witty analysis of scandal-mongering from Vienna to Hollywood ("I have heard many bad things about you, madame. Let me hope that they are true.")—Dr. Reik goes on to examine the "powerful undercurrent of pornography" in the stream of Anglo-Saxon literature. He demonstrates how the contents of this book are important to the sexologist, the analyst, the historian and the connoisseur of literature, and he makes some observations about the state of current society that may shock some readers.

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A brief but vitriolic diatribe against the Bluenose in America!

Foreword:

The relationship of "witchery" and "obscenity". The sorry spectacle of the greatest courts in our land preoccupying themselves with keeping responsible adults away from "obscene" literature.

Part I: Precursors of English Erotica

An introduction to the 2,000-odd books in English that are kept from the general public. D. H. Lawrence's definition of pornography. How sexual stimulation varies from culture to culture. Erotic manifestations in ancient Peru, China, Greece, Rome. Passages from Ovid's "Art of Love." The Exeter Book; Chaucer; a complete and unexpurgated story from "One Hundred Merrie and Delightsom Stories."

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The state of erotic literature before obscenity laws were passed. "Young Coridon and Phillis" by Sir Charles Sedley is reprinted here in entirety. What happened to Sir Sedley. An unexpurgated version of an early street ballad, whose title we cannot print here. First erotic works in prose. Edmund Curll and his "Venus in the Cloister." "Adventures of a King's Page"; pornographic works based on French characters (The Confessions of Marie Antoinette); "Secret Loves of Byron". Eminent scholars write pornography in the 17th Century. Daniel Defoe's "Moll Flanders", etc.

Part III: The Two Manias

How two themes dominated pornographic literature of 18th and 19th Centuries: Flagellation and Defloration of Virgins. Secret clubs in London devoted to "the English vice." Sub rosa magazines like "The Annals of Gallantry: Glee and Pleasure." Important books on Whipping; Selections from autobiography of a female flagellant named Margaret Anson. Details of an initiation ceremony into a secret pornographic club. Children in English brothels; Sex manuals, in England, India, France, Persia.

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Part VII: The Erotic Book Market Today

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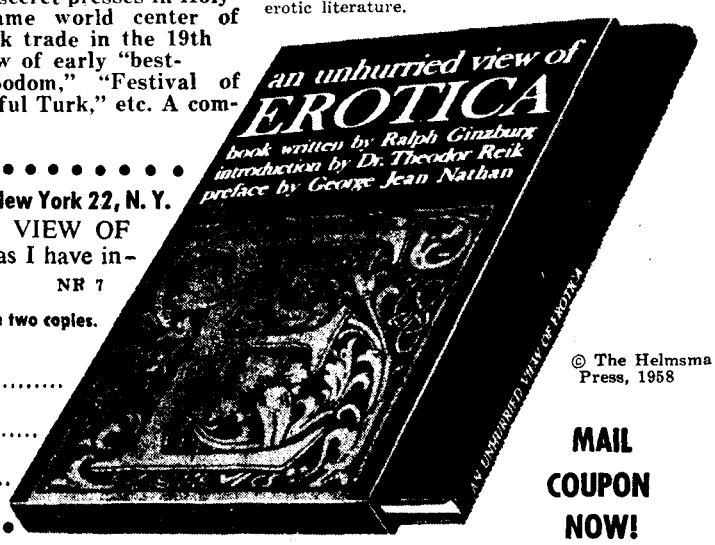
A list of 100 of the world's choicest books of erotic literature.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